

The Washington Post

Outlook

EDITORIALS
COMMENTATORS
BOOKS

SECTION E

SUNDAY, JANUARY 10, 1960

PAGE E1

A Russian Voice Testifies
To Strength of Freedom

The Washington Post reprints the following article with permission from the Sunday Times of London. The editor of that newspaper prefaced the story as follows:

An extraordinary and revealing document has reached the Editor of the Sunday Times from the Soviet Union. The message that accompanied this moving essay simply said that the writer wished to offer an honest answer to the fundamental question always in the mind of foreigners who talk with Soviet citizens, but hardly ever answered with

complete candor: What do the Russian people really think and feel about life in the Soviet Union?

The Editor has reason for believing that this document, which was transmitted through channels that must remain secret, is authentic. He is aware that the writer belongs to a class favored under the Soviet regime, that his contribution to Soviet life is important and that he was born after the Bolshevik revolution of 1917. It is presented to our readers as a personal expression of faith from behind a Curtain which, although lifted a little of late, still stops the free interplay of minds.

"At that time nobody had heard of the Communists or Socialists or of the so-called levelers in general. All the same they existed—in vast numbers, moreover."

—M. E. Saltykov-Shchedrin, the 19th-century Russian satirist.

A FRENCH writer once said that Russia is a land of steppes in which stands the Asiatic capital of Moscow... and Moscow itself was often thought of as being a town with a large number of churches.

It was to one of these churches that my grandmother used to take me as a child of 5. I remember my feelings of terror at the stern faces of the congregation, at the darkness and gloom of the church.

It was a world which seemed to have stopped. It seemed that these same old women must have prayed for the defeat of Napoleon in 1812.

This ancient bygone world, which has been declared extinct a thousand times and yet which always appears again from somewhere, does not unite all Russian people. But it reminds every individual of something inside him, and of the fact that, like it or not, he is a part of something else.

A Commentary by George F. Kennan

Former Ambassador to the U. S. S. R. and a recognized authority on Russia.

THE QUESTION of the authenticity of this document must be left to those who procured it. There is nothing in the content which would make it implausible that it should have come from a Soviet source. But there are points about the translation that raise questions (the word "aristocracy" is used in several places where clearly "gentry" is meant); and no professional historian can sponsor the authenticity of an unsigned text, the original of which he has not seen.

As for the tenor of the document: assuming it to be genuine, one cannot read it, of course, without feeling great sympathy for the author. And yet, a word of caution must be added.

If there is any one thing on which all those would agree who have had occasion to observe over long periods of time the feeling of Soviet citizens with relation to the Soviet regime, it is that these feelings are varied, complex, ambiguous and

people. But many other attitudes also occur—not all so negative toward the Soviet regime, not all marked by so naive a confidence vis-à-vis the West.

I happen to share the unknown author's faith in the power of the freedom of the mind and the spirit to survive—even in Russia. But we would be wrong to forget that very few people in Russia today have any clear idea of what political freedom means, as it is understood in the West.

More than 40 years have elapsed since the confused and abortive liberal experiments of the early years of this century were interrupted by the second Revolution of 1917. The historical record of the years just following the Revolution teaches us that in Russia a hatred of communism, or of any one form of despotism, is not always identical with an understanding for the Western ideals of tolerance, parliamentary government and the judicial protection of the rights of the individual.

lycee (and in the whole of Russia) and waited to see what would happen. This is what happened:

It proved impossible to stem the feelings awakened among the Russian people of culture. The rich noblemen did not wish to return to barbarism; some realized that the pleasures of civilization were finer than the orgies of their forebears; others, having tasted the joys of creative activity, could no longer do without them. So the nobility became free-thinking, and the Hydra-state had no choice but to appease the noble caste on which it depended, together with the martinet's discipline, and move toward freedom of publication, open frontiers and the elimination of extremists by court procedure instead of by secret terrorism.

The Flowers of Art

IT WAS this group of internally-free Russian noblemen that created our culture. Within the limits of this group there was freedom and freedom of thought. People spoke about what they wanted and thought about things that seemed important to them. Their opinions were guided by their consciences. On this ground grew up those flowers



The author of the accompanying document uses the Hydra, as the symbol of the hundred-headed Russian state, however it disguises itself. This bronze of "Hercules and the Lernaean Hydra" by Moderno (late 15th-early 16th century) is in the Samuel H. Kress Collection at the National Gallery of Art.

Christ says: "Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's and unto God the things that are God's." We Russians understand this in our own way.

In these words we hear an admission that we should not concern ourselves with the ordering of our own lives: the Hydra looks after this for us. And even if we tried to do it ourselves, the Hydra would push us aside with his dirty paw and say: "Don't meddle in the affairs of Caesar. After all, I have a few small joys for you and I have

ing point. You can learn about external aspects of life in Russia from your correspondents and tourists. But the internal life of the Russians—these people who resemble all others in the world in their spiritual qualities, their desires, their good and bad points—sometimes escapes the observer.

Nevertheless, despite the way in which the visiting foreigner is dazzled by the Bolshoi theater, by the round of receptions, by university visits, by trips to Sochi, to Yalta, and by other

gation, at the darkness and gloom of the church.

It was a world which seemed to have stopped. It seemed that these same old women must have prayed for the defeat of Napoleon in 1812. . .

This ancient bygone world, which has been declared extinct a thousand times and yet which always appears again from somewhere, does not unite all Russian people. But it reminds every individual of something inside him, and of the fact that, like it or not, he is a Russian and can never be anything else.

The Feudal Legacy

IT IS NOT easy to describe this "Russianness." Less than 100 years ago Russia ceased to be a self-owning state. The feudal system left as its legacy a mass of wretched, downtrodden peasants, a large class of officials corrupted by arbitrary rule, police officers, spies, bailiffs, blood-sucking merchants and other riffraff who despised the people because they had come from their ranks and knew that the people had no mysterious potential still to be awakened.

They despised their masters—the Russian nobility—for their idealism and lack of practical sense.

This last class—the Russian aristocracy—was the smallest, but its role in our Russian history is enormous. Just as Athens (which in ancient Greece was smaller than Nönginsk, in provincial Russia) appears to our imagination as an immense town, a whole world, so the Russian aristocracy, which was a thousandth part of the population, seems to us to have been the basic factor of Russian life.

Within this class, an extraordinary, original Russian culture was created, a culture which gave us such masterpieces as "War and Peace" and "The Brothers Karamazov." I have mentioned only two works, probably the best known in the West, but there are innumerable other masterpieces of literature, art and music created by Russian aristocratic culture. And if one remembers that in the narrow circle of this aristocracy the majority spent their time looking after their estates or living largely abroad, or spending their time in high living, then you can see that Russian culture was created by a handful of people.

A Love of Freedom

BUT there is nothing strange or surprising about this. Think again of the ancient world. Desperate and enterprising people, fleeing from vast Eastern despotisms, settled down on the wild shores of the Balkans. These were fierce and brave people, not averse to pillage and looting; but the main thing about them was their boundless love of freedom. Once free, these martial people created the Aegean culture which then became Hellenic culture—a culture in which the whole of our civilization is founded.

How many times has mankind been

that of which he has not seen.

As for the tenor of the document: assuming it to be genuine, one cannot read it, of course, without feeling great sympathy for the author. And yet, a word of caution must be added.

If there is any one thing on which all those would agree who have had occasion to observe over long periods of time the feeling of Soviet citizens with relation to the Soviet regime, it is that these feelings are varied, complex, ambiguous and often contradictory. Sometimes the contradiction is present even within the mind of a single individual, who will admire the regime in certain ways, detest it in others, and may still find it preferable, despite all his dislike for individual features, to any other conceivable alternative.

The attitude set forth in this document does indeed occur in Russia, particularly among older educated

West.

More than 40 years have elapsed since the confused and abortive liberal experiments of the early years of this century were interrupted by the second Revolution of 1917. The historical record of the years just following the Revolution teaches us that in Russia a hatred of communism, or of any one form of despotism, is not always identical with an understanding of the Western ideals of tolerance, parliamentary government and the judicial protection of the rights of the individual.

Finally, we would have to have much better evidence than we have today before we could frame our policies on the assumption that popular resistance would seriously inhibit a Soviet military effort—particularly if this effort came to appear to the mass of the people as a defensive one.

The needs of the developing intellect were such that ideas of humanism and freedom began to stir. . .

Of course the nobility, while paying lip service to fashionable sentiments about pity for one's fellow humans, continued to maintain themselves in idleness at the expense of a horrifying poverty among their serfs; but the ideas circulated and many took them seriously.

Naive Benevolence

THE YOUNG and ambitious Alexander I flirted with democracy and saw himself as the Enlightener of the People. One way he saw to win over the more civilized among the nobility was to found a lycee in Tsarskoe Selo. It was built in the immediate neighborhood of his palace, and it was Alexander's idea that the children of noble landowners, having graduated from the lycee, would provide an intellectual and loyal support for the throne.

How naive were even kings in those days! Alexander imagined that the mere fact of his benevolence and the proximity of his royal person would be enough to win their devotion to the crown for the rest of their lives. He did not concern himself about the education and indoctrination given by the lycee.

And so, in the shaded parks of Tsarskoe Selo, there grew up an atmosphere of exceptional freedom of thought. Separated from their parents and the realities of life on feudal estates, left almost to their own devices, at liberty to

read books, hold discussions and parties, stimulated by free-thinking, progressive teachers, these young men did not develop in the way Alexander intended, but in the way human nature always does if it is given a free choice.

There was much these young hearts did not understand; they lived in a world of fantasy and bookish ideals. But from this unreal world emerged the most real thing in the world—the free human spirit.

Neither before nor since have there been such conditions for the free development of the personality as when the lycee was founded. Russia could not miss such a moment. Pushkin appeared.

You English cannot know what Pushkin for us. He is our pride, our hope and our love. He is the sun of our art, and without him there would have been neither Tolstoy nor Dostoevsky; for it was Pushkin who gave impetus to slumbering Russian thought, fertilized Russian culture and by his genius gave this culture its direction.

It is Pushkin who makes us feel that Russian man is infinitely gifted and can create treasures of the intellect if only he is left in peace by the hundred-headed Hydra that constantly claims its tribute, freeing his soul with its vile, brutish demands.

Perturbed by the bright light of dawning freedom, the Hydra bestirred himself and Pushkin was destroyed. He lived only 37 years, but each day of his life means more to us than any of Suworov's victories.

The Hydra "restored order" in the

discipline, and move toward freedom of publication, open frontiers and the elimination of extremists by court procedure instead of by secret terrorism.

The Flowers of Art

IT WAS this group of internally-free Russian noblemen that created our culture. Within the limits of this group there was freedom and freedom of thought. People spoke about what they wanted and thought about things that seemed important to them. Their opinions were guided by their consciences.

On this ground grew up those flowers of art which still fill the world of culture with their fragrance. All this would have been splendid if this small free world of the well-to-do had existed on the moon. But it was on the earth, and existed side by side with an unfree, materially wretched world, inhabited by an anonymous gray mass of people.

This malodorous world not only fed the noblemen; it nurtured their art with popular talent. They could not close their eyes to this. Like a tuber cut off from the sun, the small, creative, caste of noblemen in Russia stretched out its shoots toward the masses, coalesced with them and distributed among them the jewels created in freedom.

And what of the Hydra? First we have to know what the Hydra is. Is he Czarism, the Communist Party or the state in general?

We Russians are specialists on the Hydra. Although he watches us constantly and thinks he knows all our thoughts, we know more about him than he knows about us. The Hydra, you see, is phenomenally dull-witted, whereas we are quick-witted and have an artistic flair.

We realized a long time ago that however he disguises himself—as Nicholas I, as Arakcheev, Stolypin or as a cockade or a general's epaulettes, whether he calls himself a party member, a monarchist, a Communist, a democrat, an instrument of authority, a dissident, a progressive, an old Bolshevik, a devil or an angel—the Hydra is always the Hydra.

Hydra's Dirty Paw

IT IS BECAUSE of the Hydra that while everybody else hides in corners; that only second-rate go unafraid, while the rest walk in terror; that only crooks and traitors may count on praise while everybody else is expected to give thanks for the privilege of not being in jail.

Christ says: "Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's and unto God the things that are God's." We Russians understand this in our own way.

In these words we hear an admission that we should not concern ourselves with the ordering of our own lives: the Hydra looks after this for us. And even if we tried to do it ourselves, the Hydra would push us aside with his dirty paw and say: "Don't meddle in the affairs of Caesar. After all, I have left a few small joys for you and I have promised you more to come: soon there'll be enough maize, for instance. What else do you want, new impressions?"

"Enough of that," we would reply. "Not long ago our fathers got new impressions and studied the geography of the northern and eastern regions. . . ." (Translator's note: I.e., the concentration camps of the Far North and Siberia).

If one were to allow open competition between honesty and crookedness, could honesty win? The honest use only honest methods, whereas the crooks use every weapon. The honest hesitate and doubt, while the crooks undermine them; the honest, even if they win, are forgiving, whereas the crooks, when they win, torment you till only pride prevents you from crying out.

The crooks rage, shout at the top of their voices, blackmail, hoot, threaten, lie, and then laugh in your face and try to hit you from behind, or while you are sleeping. At last you grow tired of this orgy at your expense, you say "To hell with it," and render unto Caesar what is Caesar's.

Then, if you behave yourself for a long time, the crooks may even pat you on the cheeks with their greasy hands, saying, "Don't forget, carp, there is a pike in the pond."

Russia's Internal Life

FORGIVE me for this historical digression. Without understanding the recent past, you could not understand Russia's present.

Yes, present-day Russia concerns practically the entire Western world, but if you were to ask each individual what precisely it is that concerns him, the majority would not be able to give a clear answer. I think the main question for people from the Western world is: "Why don't the Russians live as we do, and why do they want everybody to live as they do?"

In talking of present-day Russia, I shall take these questions as my starting

ing point. You can learn about external aspects of life in Russia from your correspondents and tourists. But the internal life of the Russians—these people who resemble all others in the world in their spiritual qualities, their desires, their good and bad points—sometimes escapes the observer.

Nevertheless, despite the way in which the visiting foreigner is dazzled by the Bolshoi theater, by the round of receptions, by university visits, by trips to Sochi, to Yalta, and by other steps taken to entertain and divert him, the intelligent traveler notices that people in the U. S. S. R. are reluctant to state their opinions, and that his attempts to meet the people "off the record" and get to know what they think are thwarted. A vacuum forms wherever he tries. Is this to be ascribed to the mistrustfulness of the Russians?

Suppose you had been arrested in 1937 for the least misdemeanor, or more probably for none at all, but just because of an anonymous denunciation, or because of the need to keep up a quota of arrests. Suppose you had been tortured, sent to forced labor for a human being. And suppose this had happened not only to you, but to millions of your fellows!

The Scarcely Living

INCIDENTALLY, many of the people arrested then—and although only a small proportion survived, even this number adds up to a great many—are now returning home. These are the so-called "rehabilitated." They are broken, ill, scarcely really living, just dragging out their last days. Once these were loyal party people, good engineers or honest soldiers.

Here, surely, is a subject for a film. An old wreck of a man returns and is given a chit for an apartment in the same local party secretary who once tormented him and then avoided him like the plague when he was arrested. When he moves into his new apartment, the old man puts his felt boots (a typical feature of concentration camp dress) into the corner, just in case. . .

Suppose, after the war, you had again been reminded of the existence of the "pike in the pond"; suppose it had been dinned into your head every day and every hour that you must not speak with foreigners because they are spies, that you must read repeatedly in the newspapers about slanderous books on your country published abroad by tourists and correspondents—would you, after all this, throw yourself on the neck of a complete stranger and pour out all your thoughts without the least idea of the use to which he might put them?

To understand what is going on in Russia one must take as one's starting point the fact that our social life is dominated by universal crookedness.

Some Pre-Revolutionary Heads of the Russian Hydra



was smaller than Moscow (in provincial Russia) appears to our imagination as an immense town, a whole world, so the Russian aristocracy, which was a thousandth part of the population, seems to us to have been the basic factor of Russian life.

Within this class, an extraordinary, original Russian culture was created, a culture which gave us such masterpieces as "War and Peace" and "The Brothers Karamazov." I have mentioned only two works, probably the best known in the West, but there are innumerable other masterpieces of literature, art and music created by Russian aristocratic culture. And if one remembers that in the narrow circle of this aristocracy the majority spent their time looking after their estates or living largely abroad, then you can see that Russian culture was created by a handful of people.

A Love of Freedom

BUT there is nothing strange or surprising about this. Think again of the ancient world. Desperate and enterprising people, fleeing from vast Eastern despotisms, settled down on the wild shores of the Balkans. These were fierce and brave people, not averse to pillage and looting; but the main thing about them was their boundless love of freedom. Once free, these martial people created the Aegean culture which then became Hellenic culture—a culture on which the whole of our civilization is founded.

How many times has mankind been told by philosophers and poets that if man were made free his talents would blossom and his power become boundless! But one must accept this with the whole of one's heart, for sometimes material success, the wealth of the state and the unity of the people seem more important than freedom. Everyone must understand for himself that if there is freedom, there will be everything.

If you are not entirely convinced, but need facts to persuade you, look at the example of Russian history.

At the beginning of the 18th century the Russian autocracy had great power and importance in world affairs. After the reform of Peter the Great and the brilliant age of Catherine, the Russian nobility tried to adopt European education and taste. Coarse pleasures and merrymaking no longer satisfied them once they had savored Western culture.

Naive Benevolence

THE YOUNG and ambitious Alexander I flirted with democracy and saw himself as the Enlightener of the People. One way he saw to win over the more civilized among the nobility was to found a lycee in Tsarskoe Selo. It was built in the immediate neighborhood of his palace, and it was Alexander's idea that the children of noble landowners, having graduated from the lycee, would provide an intellectual and loyal support for the throne.

How naive were even kings in those days! Alexander imagined that the mere fact of his benevolence and the proximity of his royal person would be enough to win their devotion to the crown for the rest of their lives. He did not concern himself about the education and indoctrination given by the lycee.

And so, in the shaded parks of Tsarskoe Selo, there grew up an atmosphere of exceptional freedom of thought. Separated from their parents and the realities of life on feudal estates, left almost to their own devices, at liberty to

most real things in the world—the free human spirit.

Neither before nor since have there been such conditions for the free development of the personality as when the lycee was founded. Russia could not miss such a moment. Pushkin appeared.

You English cannot know what Pushkin is for us. He is our pride, our hope and our love. He is the sun of our art, and without him there would have been neither Tolstoy nor Dostoevsky; for it was Pushkin who gave impetus to slumbering Russian thought, fertilized Russian culture and by his genius gave this culture its direction.

It is Pushkin who makes us feel that Russian man is infinitely gifted and can create treasures of the intellect if only he is left in peace by the hundred-headed Hydra that constantly claims its tribute, freezing his soul with its vile, brutish demands.

Perturbed by the bright light of dawning freedom, the Hydra bestirred himself and Pushkin was destroyed. He lived only 37 years, but each day of his life means more to us than any of Suvorov's victories.

The Hydra "restored order" in the

the state in general. We Russians are specialists on the Hydra. Although he watches us constantly and thinks he knows all our thoughts, we know more about him than he knows about us. The Hydra, you see, is phenomenally dull-witted, whereas we are quick-witted and have an artistic flair.

We realized a long time ago that however he disguises himself—as Nicholas I, as Arakcheev, Stolypin or Pobedonostsev, whether he has a gendarme's cockade or a general's epaulettes, whether he calls himself a party member, a monarchist, a Communist, a democrat, an instrument of authority, a dissident, a progressive, an old Bolshevik, a devil or an angel—the Hydra is always the Hydra.

Hydra's Dirty Paw

IT IS BECAUSE of the Hydra that only scoundrels may walk the earth while everybody else hides in corners; that only scoundrels go unafraid, while the rest walk in terror; that only crooks and traitors may count on praise while everybody else is expected to give thanks for the privilege of not being in jail.

their voices, blackmail, hoot, threaten, lie and then laugh in your face and try to hit you from behind, or while you are sleeping. At last you grow tired of this orgy at your expense, you say "To hell with it!" and render unto Caesar what is Caesar's.

Then, if you behave yourself for a long time, the crooks may even pat you on the cheeks with their greasy hands, saying, "Don't forget, carp, there is a pike in the pond."

Russia's Internal Life

FORGIVE me for this historical digression. Without understanding the recent past, you could not understand Russia's present.

Yes, present-day Russia concerns practically the entire Western world, but if you were to ask each individual what precisely it is that concerns him, the majority would not be able to give a clear answer. I think the main question for people from the Western world is: "Why don't the Russians live as we do, and why do they want everybody to live as they do?"

In talking of present-day Russia, I shall take these questions as my starting

INCIDENTALLY, many of the people arrested then—and although only a small proportion survived, even this number adds up to a great many—are now returning home. These are the so-called "rehabilitates." They are broken, ill, scarcely really living, just dragging out their last days. Once these were loyal party people, good engineers or honest soldiers.

Here, surely, is a subject for a film. An old wreck of a man returns and is given a chit for an apartment by the same local party secretary who once tormented him and then avoided him like the plague when he was arrested. When he moves into his new apartment, the old man puts his felt boots (a typical feature of concentration camp dress) into the corner, just in case...

Suppose, after the war, you had again been reminded of the existence of the "pike in the pond"; suppose it had been dinned into your head every day and every hour that you must not speak with foreigners because they are spies, that you had read repeatedly in the newspapers about slanderous books on your country published abroad by tourists and correspondents—would you, after all this, throw yourself on the neck of a complete stranger and pour out all your thoughts without the least idea of the use to which he might put them?

To understand what is going on in Russia one must take as one's starting point the fact that our social life is dominated by universal crookedness. Just try to understand this and everything will be clear to you.

Rule of Crookedness

BOUNDLESS crookedness—triumphant, cynical and hypocritical—that is Russia today. Sometimes it becomes supercrooked and begins to reveal its own dark deformities. This was so in the case of the scandalous "Khrushchev letter" on Stalin's crimes. Khrushchev was Stalin's political accomplice all his life.

Then there were the revelations about the monstrous, debauched life of Beria. I can imagine how Western people could be led astray by such matters as these. All his life Beria was proclaimed, not least by Khrushchev, as a devoted servant of the people, a Leninist, a

See RUSSIA, Page E3, Column 1

*Translator's note: Khrushchev's "secret speech" to the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in 1956 was read out in the form of a "letter" from the Central Committee. Hence Russians refer to the "secret speech" as "Khrushchev's letter."

Some Pre-Revolutionary Heads of the Russian Hydra



Czar Nicholas I turned Russia into a police state after 1825, stamping out "revolution" at home (Decembrists) and abroad (Poles and Hungarians).



Arakcheev (1769-1834) was a heartless, obscurantist bureaucrat noted for installing a dismal system of colonizing troops on the land.



Pobedonostsev (1827-1907), was Russia's blackest reactionary: rabid nationalist and anti-Semite, medieval educationist and land "reformer."



Stolypin (1862-1911) as "prime minister" ruthlessly persecuted democrats, revolutionaries and minorities alike. He was assassinated.

A Voice From Out of Red Russia Testifies to an Individual's Faith in Freedom

RUSSIA, From Page 41

And then, suddenly, we have "the vile crimes of Beria." These things can be explained only by the rule of crookedness.

The reason is simple. All these revelations, appeals to the people, economic reforms, seven-year plans, conquest of the virgin soil, innumerable resolutions of the Supreme Soviet and sessions of the Council of Ministers, do not have as their basic aim an improvement in the life of the people. They are fundamentally serving the strategy of the ruling group, which strives to strengthen its power, remove possible rivals and seize all key positions.

When Khrushchev published his semi-secret letter on Stalin's atrocities, he was not moved to do so by feelings of righteous indignation, but by the fact that Stalin had left behind him a vast personal bureaucratic apparatus which possessed enormous strength and which had claims to the succession. The parallel apparatus of the Central Committee, which Khrushchev controlled, had to discredit this hostile apparatus and destroy it.

KHRUSHCHEV'S letter, though unparalleled in its cynicism, served his personal aims well. A little after Khrushchev had courted the old government oligarchy, it joined forces with his Central Committee, and together they removed their most dangerous common enemy, Beria.

The creation of the Regional Economic Councils was of no benefit to the people, but they were needed by Khrushchev to drive the last stake into the grave of the government oligarchy. New, unknown people arose; all who had been powerful to any extent were brushed aside and eliminated.

All this may be elementary. The English after all are not children in political matters. But why then do they not understand what is going on in Russia today?

What is taking place in front of our eyes is a most normal thing in Russian life—the reshuffling at the top of the powers of crookedness. One set of crooks (even viler ones) steps into the shoes of the others, and in this internal struggle they constantly appeal to the people, make declarations and revelations, organize meetings, discussions of Central Committee secret letters, etc. (And it makes you sick, I can tell you.)

Although the people realize that Beria's apparatus was smashed once it had begun to threaten members of the Central Committee themselves, they know that something could arise to take its place. And, since the physical conditions of Siberia are very well known to them, the people take a very lackadaisical view of these discussions and meetings. Something more about



The four men who have ruled Russia since the Bolshevik Revolution. Left to right: Nikolai Lenin (1917-24), Joseph Stalin (1924-53), Georgi Malenkov (1953-5) and Nikita Khrushchev (1955...).

mate wisdom of how to sneak up to a man behind his back and crack his skull with a brick, suddenly go out into the world and discover that it is not primitive like theirs but vast and complicated in its liberty.

Imagine a scoundrel who by intimidation and violence has possessed and dominated a woman. With blackmail and threats he has made her forget the past and made her believe that he, the scoundrel, behaves like this not because he is a scoundrel, but because this is the nature of things.

And suppose another man suddenly moves in next door, a man who speaks freely, thinks deeply about matters of life and death, indulges in speculation and dreams; a man who is, in fact, free. Would not the scoundrel feel hatred for this neighbor? Would he not want to isolate him? Or make him also live the life of a scoundrel?

PEOPLE IN THE West! Do not overestimate the strength of these crooks. They have terrorized everybody in our country, but for this very reason they themselves are frightened of everything. They are accustomed to hypocrisy from the day of their birth and know very well how to deal with other scoundrels, but they do not understand the psychology of free men and therefore fear them.

Having almost achieved their dark dream of creating a kingdom in which the dead eye of the Hydra dominates everything, the crooks suddenly notice one incomprehensible detail which stubbornly threatens and casts doubts on all their efforts.

This detail is the law of the complementary, by virtue of which the Western world begins to value and safeguard its freedom all the more as it understands more fully the power of the Hydra in Russia.

magoric dream: "Since the West will not disappear, can't we come to an agreement with it whereby it would leave us alone, not abuse us, not make invidious comparisons between itself and us, and pretend not to see us?" Then the crooks would be able to triumph completely in one country and they would be prepared to give the West something in return for closing its eyes.

But the West will just not stop thinking and saying things which disturb the Hydra. The West will not compromise with its conscience and close its eyes by agreement with the Hydra; the West does not believe any of the Hydra's assurances, because it knows that the basic feature of the Hydra's external policy is unprecedented hypocrisy.

AND AGAIN the Hydra rages, threatens, writes notes only to stop short and realize that he is not faced by the Russian man-in-the-street who can be manipulated at will, but by Englishmen or Americans who disregard threatening notes. Then the Hydra begins to play up to the West, plead with it, and spends the people's money without permission on support for such dubious persons as Nasser; he covers his claws with gloves and fawns on them.

But these internal policies always fail and, thwarted, the crooks again turn their eyes to Russia and think, "Here anyway my eyes can rest, here everything is clear and smooth."

But is it? In the whole world there are only two forces: the sword and the spirit, and in the long run the spirit always triumphs over the sword.

Do not think, inhabitant of the West, that life under the Hydra is in any way attractive or exotic. It is in gen-

eral, how do these feelings of ours affect the course of events?

This is how:

The present Russian government has not the slightest authority among the people. Anecdotes about Khrushchev, Furtseva and the others have become almost a sign of good form in the most varied circles. If Stalin was feared, he was also respected (and many believed in him); Khrushchev, even if he is feared a little bit (he is an expert with the brick), is not in the least respected. It is impossible to respect him.

There is a mood of great lassitude among the masses. Everybody attends to his own business and everybody hopes for something. This inertia has even begun to worry the people at the top.

Japan's Sun Is Rising Strongly

By Hessel Tiltman

Special to The Washington Post

TOKYO — Japan in the

1930s was firmly on the road to establishing a dominant position in East Asia, with a continuing burgeoning of national wealth, markets and prestige. But the expansionist ambitions of the dominant military clique robbed the country of the economic benefits of neutrality and destroyed many of the achievements of the founders of modern Japan.

After the end of the Pacific conflict, the country was short of food, housing, transportation, fuel and hope; its surviving factories and mills idle; its overseas trade at a standstill; its merchandise

They now organize country-wide discussions and they call on the people to help the government to improve the economy, the administration, help in technical development and in general to be more active. But the people do not lift a finger.

No, Hydra, we were active, we believed in ideals, but Stalin sent five million people to their graves for being active. We really thought that we were moving toward a free life, toward communism. We believed our leaders, but Khrushchev, with his shameless hypocrisy and his ability to go back on his own words, has shown us that we can believe only in ourselves.

Since they have assumed charge of our souls and our lives, let them take charge of everything else, too. We shall work if they force us; when they pay us our money, we shall take it.

THE COMPLETE collapse of the Hydra's authority has enormous consequences. In the first place, war has become impossible. The people will sweep the Hydra away if he risks such a monstrous adventure. In conditions of atomic war with the Hydra's eyes, nobody would fight when he was away from the Hydra's eyes.

In the second place, the ruling clique themselves are beginning to understand that they have gone too far in their crookedness and their cynicism and even some of them are probably sick and tired of their Hydra existence. After all, they spend their lives destroying rivals, cursing and swearing at people and exiling them to the far ends of the country.

They come home late from work and they spend their leisure hours in wild orgies. By the age of 45 they get heart

disease, but what sort of a life is it? You die and nobody remembers you because all the others will be crawling on their bellies in front of your successor.

We Russians don't know how to live properly, but we are beginning to understand this more and more. The seeds sown in this giant people by a handful of its free representatives have been scattered far and wide. You cannot see these seeds, but they have not died. They live in the womb of the people and are maturing.

THESE SEEDS live in the qualities of the Russian people, in their calmness, in their incapacity for the trivial, in their skepticism, in their disbelief in words, in their deep conviction that the newspapers tell only lies, in their patience and fortitude, in their preparedness for great deeds and for hardship in the name of a great cause which they cannot find, in their contempt for the Hydra and finally in their unshakable belief in their own strength and in the idea that they are worthy of a better life, a free life.

Knowing the mood of Russians in all groups of society, I think that there is a possibility of our society evolving. Perhaps some role will be played in this by the expansion of China; if we have to choose between China and Europe, we shall unhesitatingly choose Europe.

Perhaps there will be new people at the top (Khrushchev is mortal, after all), perhaps there will be a gradual Europeanization owing to the extension of tourist and cultural exchanges. I don't know. But perhaps sooner than you think you in the West will see a Russia that will bring you not fear but light.

make their own decisions, the Japanese people would prefer democratic institutions to extremism of any stripe. Around 1950, it was widely predicted that once national independence had been restored much of the Occupation-sponsored reform legislation would disappear and the nation, free again to choose its own policies and path, would "return to the past." Consequently, some provisions were enacted, and some alleged "Occupation excesses" have been corrected.

But in the large measure, the political and social transformation effected during the Occupation years—including the new democratic Constitution and the equality of the sexes in the area of the

to Communists was of no benefit to the people, but they were needed by Khrushchev to drive the last stake into the grave of the government oligarchy. New, unknown people arose; all who had been powerful to any extent were humiliated and eliminated.

All this may be elementary. The English after all are not children in political matters, but why then do they not understand what is going on in Russia today?

What is taking place in front of our eyes is a most normal thing in Russian life—the reshuffling at the top of the powers of crookedness. One set of crooks (even viler ones) steps into the shoes of the others, and in this internal struggle they constantly appeal to the people, make declarations and revelations, organize meetings, discussions of Central Committee secret letters, etc. (and it makes you sick, I can tell you).

Although the people realize that Beria's apparatus was smashed once it had begun to threaten members of the Central Committee themselves, they know that something could arise to take its place. And since the physical conditions of Siberia are very well known to them, the people take a very laudable view of these discussions and meetings. Something more about the attitude of the people of Russia to internal politics must be said later on.

WHEN IT COMES to external politics, we have a special factor. The Western world exists and has no intentions of disappearing, but the Hydra of the state wants it to disappear. The stupid, one-track mind of the Hydra is fixed on the West and quietly perplexed by it.

The government crooks rule everything inside Russia. They even believe that ordinary citizens have come to love them, have given them their blessing and imagine that it is impossible to live in any other way but this—namely, standing at attention before the crooks.

But, lo and behold, somewhere else on this planet, people do not stand at attention but behave as they wish, express their thoughts, argue, write good books, make good films, travel abroad, are sad or happy, commit good and bad deeds, and all this happens not under the oppressive stare of crooks but in freedom!

The Soviet rulers, who are champions of intrigue, who have learned the ulti-

And perhaps another man suddenly moves in next door, a man who speaks freely, thinks deeply about matters of life and death, indulges in speculation and dreams; a man who is, in fact, free. Would not the second feel hatred for this neighbor? Would he not want to isolate him? Or make him also live the life of a sounder?

PROFANE IN THE WEST! Do not overestimate the strength of these crooks. They have terrorized everybody in our country, but for this very reason they themselves are frightened of everything. They are accustomed to hypocrisy from the day of their birth and know very well how to deal with other sounders, but they do not understand the psychology of free men and therefore fear them.

Having almost achieved their dark dream of creating a kingdom in which the dead eye of the Hydra dominates everything, the crooks suddenly notice one incomprehensible detail which snubbornly threatens and casts doubts on all their efforts.

This detail is the law of the complexity, by virtue of which the Western world begins to value and safeguard its freedom all the more as it understands more fully the power of the Hydra in Russia.

The crooks realize instinctively that to the whole of mankind will never submit to the Hydra and that the free ideology created by the Hellenes, the English, French, Russians and the Americans is indestructible. Therefore the crooks try to adapt themselves to the existence of the West.

This is why the Hydra's efforts to play up to the West and camouflage himself before the eyes of the West are second only in importance to his efforts to consolidate his power in Russia and the subject countries.

THROUGHOUT practically the whole of Russian history there has been an enormous expenditure of money and effort to show a good face to the West, although the futility of this is obvious. I, for one, do not believe that the present clumsy efforts of official Soviet propaganda or the activity of certain of your fellow-travelers can deceive anybody in Europe or America. So why does the Hydra try so hard?

I think that the dull brain of the Hydra has given birth to a phantasm

his eyes by agreement with the Hydra. The West does not believe any of the Hydra's assurances, because it knows that the basic feature of the Hydra's external policy is unprecedented hypocrisy.

AND AGAIN the Hydra rages, threatens, writes notes only to stop short and realize that he is not faced by the Russian man-in-the-street who can be manipulated at will, but by Englishmen or Americans who disregard threatening notes. Then the Hydra begins to play up to the West, plead with it, and spends the people's money without permission on support for such dubious persons as Nasser; he covers his claws with gloves and laws on them.

But these internal policies always fail and, thwarted, the crooks again turn their eyes to Russia and think, "Here anyway my eyes can rest, here everything is clear and smooth. But is it?"

In the whole world there are only two forces: the sword and the spirit, and in the long run the spirit always triumphs over the sword.

Napoleon. Do not think, inhabitant of the West, that life under the Hydra is in any way attractive or exotic. It is in general a rather boring business.

Beginning with the morning paper and ending with the late news on television, if you live in Russia you are dogged by the eye of the Hydra, his lies and his violence. At a meeting at your work, you are addressed by people whom you know perfectly well to be the greatest of crooks but who, because of this, have power, and you must listen to them. When you go on a trip abroad, you are briefed by study, stupid and dangerous idiots.

You meet an old friend with whom you have discussed from time to time the woes of the Hydra, and he tells you that he has joined the party. Then you begin to speak to him in newspaper language, and although he notices this, he is not embarrassed, but regards it as normal.

I HAVE no time to describe in detail the average life of the average Russian. For this a novel would be needed and a better writer than I.

How do we Russians stand it, you ask? Of course, we are fed up. More than we can say, we would like to look at a world free of lies and crookedness and show it to our children.

There is a mood of great lassitude among the masses. Everybody attends to his own business and everybody hopes for something. This inertia has even begun to worry the people at the top.

Japan's Sun Is Rising Strongly

By Russell Titman

TOKYO — Japan in the 1960s was firmly on the road to establishing an economic position in East Asia with a continuing burgeoning of national wealth, markets and prestige. But the expansionist ambitions of the dominant military clique robbed the country of the economic benefits of neutrality and destroyed many of the achievements of the founders of modern Japan.

After the end of the Pacific conflict, the country was short of food, housing, transportation, fuel and hope; its surviving factories and mills idle, its overseas trade at a standstill. Its merchant fleet sank; its good name sullied, and its very future as an industrial nation in doubt.

In the early days of the Allied Occupation, many believed that at best it would take 30 to 40 years to rebuild the nation and resume its forward march. Many Asians who had suffered at the hands of the Japanese forces were inclined then to write off Japan for good as a significant factor in Far Eastern and world affairs.

WHAT HAS since happened, in less than 15 years—illustrates and emphasizes the astounding vigor and resourcefulness of the Japanese people and the significance of the country's role in Asia.

try's historic stumble finally liquidated and Japan achieved new and record peaks of productivity and well-being.

The second half of the 1940s saw a subdued and determined Japan, under the leadership of former Prime Minister Shigen Yoshida, overcome its disillusionment and doubts and embark upon the twin tasks of national recovery at home and the regaining of self-respect abroad.

The 1950s witnessed the re- turn of national independence and the restoration of Japan to an honored place in the world community of nations. The country was able to revive its overseas trade and a steadily-expanding production of the commodities which motivate the country as a great and overcrowded trading nation.

In 1959, Japan again enjoyed the respect of the world as a country which, following a recovery that represents one of the most spectacular events of the postwar era, has resumed its role as the workshop of Asia and one of the leading industrial powers of the world.

WITH THE dawn of the 1960s, events promise to complete the process of recovery and put history into perspective.

There exists today no tendency anywhere to belittle the Japanese spirit or the country's accomplishments. The same discipline and sense of mission which characterized the nation in war are evident in the achievements of Japanese industry.

It is becoming ever more tact phases. With the dawn of the 1960s, it is entering a third which promises to see the consequences of the coun-

try's historic stumble finally liquidated and Japan achieved new and record peaks of productivity and well-being.

try's historic stumble finally liquidated and Japan achieved new and record peaks of productivity and well-being.

try's historic stumble finally liquidated and Japan achieved new and record peaks of productivity and well-being.

try's historic stumble finally liquidated and Japan achieved new and record peaks of productivity and well-being.

try's historic stumble finally liquidated and Japan achieved new and record peaks of productivity and well-being.

try's historic stumble finally liquidated and Japan achieved new and record peaks of productivity and well-being.

try's historic stumble finally liquidated and Japan achieved new and record peaks of productivity and well-being.

any, perhaps there will be a general Europeanization owing to the extension of tourist and cultural exchanges. I don't know, but perhaps sooner than you think, you in the West will see a Russia that will bring you not fear but light.

make their own decisions, the Japanese people would prefer democratic institutions to extremism of any stripe.

Around 1950 it was widely predicted that once national independence had been restored much of the Occupation-sponsored reform legislation would disappear and the nation, free again to choose its own policies and path, would return to the past. Could it be that the postwar Japanese government, and its most advanced competitors in Asia,

promises to eclipse all previous Japanese trade statistics already under way. The products of Japanese technology are rapidly winning an increasing measure of respect in foreign markets.

The shoddy workmanship (and, at times, prejudice) that caused Japanese products to be indiscriminately dismissed as "cheap and nasty" is on the way out. To an ever-increasing extent, Japanese goods compare favorably in range and quality with the products of Western skills.

THIS UNDERSCORES the fact that very many Japanese of all classes were never as blinded by militarist propaganda and its mythology as the rest of the world liked to imagine during the years when the military clique kept East Asia in turmoil.

Freed from enforced regimentation and the rigors of the police state, the people of Japan are again demonstrating their preference for the strong enough to withstand stripping of their property, their lives, and their freedom.

That fact, which is already creating new records in national production, exports and living standards, promises to make the coming years in the country's story, and to go on going concern and more near-standing role in the world in the years immediately ahead.